

1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1941

(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

771 saw it was a cow. He said that if he had been like many Indians he would have
775 run away and said it was a ghost. That's how most of this ghost business turns
813 out. Three-fourths of it is just something natural, if you stay around to find out.
Of course, there are some experiences with ghosts that are real.

756 Precedent for a sense of proportion in respect to the claims and
771 motives of would-be shamans is found in the traditions. A tale is
787 told of a woman who boasted of her ability to determine the
538 whereabouts of the enemy by means of her supernatural power.
One night, when the people feared a surprise attack, they asked
this woman to perform her rite for them. She went about the in-
side of the windbreak in which they were clustered, solemnly
moyed her arms around, and assured them, "There is nothing.
It is good all over." But in giving them this encouraging mes-
sage, she leaned too far over the windbreak, and enemy soldiers
who had crawled to it pulled her over and made her captive. The
others, warned by her fate if not by her ceremony, fled under
cover of darkness.

Another story has to do with a visitor who is asked to use his
ceremony to find some missing tribesmen. He sings, shakes as
though influenced by some invisible force, and is led into the
brush. Returning, he asserts that a fully equipped horse must
be tethered at a distant point to the east if his power is to con-
tinue the search. This is done, and again the man sings and is
led into the darkness by his power, this time to the west. The
others wait a long time for him to come back. Finally a hard-
headed member of the group exclaims, "I'll bet he went over to
the horse!" This, indeed, is the case; the pretender has made off
with the finest horse in the encampment.

771 Religiosity is thus tempered with a saving humor and dis-
756 trust which act as brakes upon unreasonable claims. In a setting
[626] where each person is allowed wide latitude in the acquisition of
power, the threat of public ridicule is a force in the maintenance
of the pattern. The individualistic principle itself becomes a
curb. Any person may claim extraordinary supernatural experi-
ences, but any other person may equally question the validity of
the assertion. Each shaman knows that there are those who be-
lieve in the efficacy of his rite and those who do not and that it is

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society. But if a person doesn't take hold of the customs, if he cuts loose, if he doesn't treat other people right, he has no chance. Then others do not help him. He is alone. He is bound to come to a bad end and perhaps be killed. A person just has to observe certain things. They aren't laws—they are so strong we don't need laws. A person is supposed to keep certain customs.

These customs, the resentment evoked by their violation, and the rewards attending their faithful performance have constituted a large share of this narrative. Consequently, definitions of antisocial conduct have emerged in particular contexts. The measures taken to correct children who misbehave and the penalties attached to premarital sex adventures, rape, witchcraft, incest, perversion, and infidelity have received such treatment.

Nothing has been said thus far about theft. Most possessions are so obviously personal and easily identified, or so readily made or procured, that theft is rare. But food and buckskins are occasionally taken.

If a person is known to be a thief, the one from whom something is stolen will take measures of personal punishment according to the value of what was carried away. If the thief pays back something valuable, it is acceptable; or a relative of his might pay it back. The whole group did not have to be called together for this. It could usually be straightened out between the two involved.

Nothing much is done in case of theft. If the thief is caught, he has to give back the property, and he is talked about and disgraced.

Theft is uncommon enough so that anyone who is guilty of it is viewed as an aberrant. The identification of witches as "people who steal" will be remembered.¹⁹

The reaction to murder is of an altogether different character. What happens if the murderer is an alien has already been discussed. When he is a member of the tribe, the bereaved relatives are scarcely less bent upon satisfaction. They may insist upon his surrender and death, even though refusal of their demands leads frequently to armed conflict and a feud between the families. Though the slayer's kin may elect to defend him, if, before they can act, the relatives of his victim catch him and kill him, they have no just cause for grievance: "If your relative is murdered and you kill the one who did it, it is all right. His family have no comeback. There is no meeting about it; it is no group

¹⁹ See p. 247.

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At first Enti said no. But they begged him and he agreed to do it.

That night, after dark, he started. He sang two songs. Then he stopped. He began to shake. He moved out into the brush as though he were being led.¹⁷ In a few minutes he came back.

"My power tells me that you are to stake a fat horse to the east. And on him there must be a good saddle blanket and a saddle and a gun and ammunition. I don't know why this is required. When it is done I'll have to sing more and find out."

"Has anyone got a good horse to put there?" asked Chihuahua. One young man had a fine white horse and he offered to bring it. Another brought a saddle, and soon everything that was asked for was there and the horse was staked to the east.

Then Enti started singing again. He sang two more songs. Again he began to shake. He went around the camp and then his power led him out to the west. The men sat and waited for his return. They waited a long time and still he did not come back.

"I wonder what happened to that fellow," said Chihuahua.

"I'll bet he went over to that horse," said another.

"You had better run over and see," Chihuahua told him.

The man ran over there and, sure enough, the horse was gone.

When Enti got away with this horse he headed for Natuzzi. He came to the encampment of Cochise.¹⁸ Enti had some kind of love ceremony and they say he had that whole camp crazy. He got away with six women. Then he heard that Cochise was after him and he ran off again. He came to Hot Springs country where my family lived. But Cochise and a group of men came after him. Cochise was a real fighter and not many stood out against him. They caught Enti at Hot Springs and

¹⁷ In ceremonies to locate the position of the enemy or to find lost objects, the power is expected to move the outstretched arm or the body of the shaman in the proper direction.

¹⁸ Cochise was the leader of the Central Chiricahua band. His son, Naiche, co-operated with Geronimo in the Indian War of 1886 which ended in the surrender of Geronimo to General Nelson A. Miles and the exile of the entire Chiricahua tribe from the west for 27 years.

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